FBIS DAILY REPORT

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GDR'S MBFR ENVOY DECRIES NATO 'CONCESSION'

LD071416 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1133 GMT 7 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Vienna--Ambassador Wieland, head of the GDR delegation at the Vienna force reduction talks, today endorsed the will of the socialist countries to work steadily and persistently for an effective reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe.

Referring to the NATO states' proposals last December, he said that their purpose is obviously to give flank protection to NATO's recent arms programs. What the West is offering to the socialist states as concession is nothing more than an attempt to win unilateral advantages for NATO and remove the agreed basis of the Vienna talks. He called on the NATO states to return to the principles and goals of the talks agreed jointly in 1973.

What the Western side is offering to the socialist states as concession is an attempt to achieve unilateral advantages and to rid the talks of their agreed substance. [as received] Ambassador Wieland continued that, in contrast, the socialist states had repeatedly declared their readiness for the most radical disarmament measures, provided that the principle of undiminished security is maintained. Their proposal of 8 November 1973 had already proved that at the Vienna talks they are concerned with the most comprehensive possible reduction of soldiers and arms.

The implementation of this proposal would have led to a reduction in the armed forces of more than 150,000 men on each side and encompassed all main weapons systems, including nuclear arms. Also, all the participating states would have taken part in this reduction from the beginning. The socialist states have with important compromise proposals created additional opportunities in order to make progress in Vienna. It was necessary that at long last these opportunities be utilized by the Western participants. Here was the key for a decisive change in the talks.

ZERI I POPULLIT SCORES SUPERPOWERS' REARMAMENT DRIVE

AU091429 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 9 Feb 80 AU

["Security of Europe Is Achieved Neither by NATO Nor by the Warsaw Treaty"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 9 (ATA)--The security of the European Continent is achieved neither through sterile meetings such as that of Vienna, nor through pacifist slogans and theories on "equilibrium", but through the resolute opposition on the part of the peoples to the hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, their aggressive NATO and Warsaw Treaty instruments, writes the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in an article commenting on the resumption of the so-called talks on the "reduction of troops and armaments", between the two aggressive blocs: NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The newspaper writes that these talks, which are going on for 8 years now, are included in the general framework of the "pacifist" offensive of the deception of the international public opinion and serve the obscure hegemonistic aims of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The newspaper quotes numerous facts showing that Europe has become today more than ever a great U.S. and Soviet arms depot and that the number of the troops of the two superpowers is constantly increasing on this continent. Europe, writes ZERI I POPULLIT, has been transformed into a large military base. Today 3-4 times more military forces are kept in permanent military readiness in the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries than there were in these same countries on the eve of the Second World War, while the fire power of these forces, if we take into consideration the arsenal of mass extermination weapons is hundreds and thousands of times greater.

ZERI I POPULLIT writes further on that only in the recent meetings the NATO member countries with their Washington boss worked out a perspective plan to spend another 80-100 billion dollars in the field of armament, reiterating also the constant increase of the annual budget by three per cent a year.

At a time when the U.S. imperialists are crying for peace and stability, they have stationed more than 350,000 troops equipped with modern weapons in the military bases they maintain in the NATO member countries. Last year the U.S.A. imposed on the ally countries the decision on the deployment in their territories of 600 Pershing and cruise missiles, thus increasing the tension in this area and the dangers for the peoples of the European countries.

Likewise, the Soviet social-imperialists are rapidly strengthening the Warsaw Treaty, which is a tool in their hands. In 1979 the Soviet social-imperialists spent about 130 billion dollars for their war expenditure, although they try to conceal these figures in their budgets.

In the new circumstances created on the international arena, the Soviet social-imperialists require from their vassals of Eastern Europe to further coordinate their plans not only in the political but also in the military fields, to obey and submit to them so as to pave the road to their hegemonic strategy in various regions of the world.

Herein lies the explanation for the intensive political and military activity carried out recently by the Kremlin in the countries of Eastern Europe, in the framework of which must be viewed also the current visit of the Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Kulikov to Sofia. For the realisation of their hegemonic interests, the Moscow social-imperialists have stationed divisions equipped with most modern armaments in the East European countries.

All these numerous facts, the warmongering appeals and threats by U.S. imperialism against Iran, the occupation of Afghanistan by the armies of the Soviet social-imperialists, the augmentation of the war budgets and the modernisation of the weapons etc., writes ZERI I POPULLIT in conclusion, clearly show that the imperialist superpowers, the USA, the USSR, China and their allies, are savage enemies to the freedom and independence of the peoples, are stranglers of the revolution and socialism and bear the responsibility for the aggressive wars. Security and peace in Europe like elsewhere, cannot be donated by the superpowers, cannot be trusted to the patrons of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

COVERAGE OF VISIT BY ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU

Arrival in Ruse

AU131125 [Editorial Report AU] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT carries a recorded report from Ruse by its special correspondent Lyuben Antonov on the arrival of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and his wife, Elena Ceausescu, at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman.

After describing the festively decorated "Bridge of Friendship" which connects Romania and Bulgaria, reporter Antonov further notes: "Welcomed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova, the dear Romanian guests have arrived.

"Among those present were Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Miko Yakhiel, BCP Central Committee member and assistant to Comrade Todor Zhivkov; as well as leaders of Ruse Okrug, headed by Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee, and numerous citizens. The ambassadors of the two countries Petre Dumitrica and Petur Danailov also attended.

"Accompanied by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, inspected the honorary guard and paid his respects to the Bulgarian national flag. A military band played the national anthems of both countries.

"Comrade Todor Zhivkov introduced the Ruse Okrug officials, after which the guard of honor performed its ceremonial marchpast in front of the high-ranking officials. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Nicolae Constantin, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and deputy prime minister of the government, as well as chairman of the State Planning Committee, and by Aurel Duma member of the RCP Central Committee and minister secretary of the state of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign affairs."

The reporter goes on to describe the official motorcade driving through the cheering population to the building site of the Joint Bulgarian-Romanian heavy machine building plant. There, he says, the guests were briefed in detail by the managers of the plant on the progress of work and were cordially greeted by the workers. Later, the motorcade proceeded toward the city. In the main square, the "Square of Freedom," he reports, the guests were greeted with ovations and were presented with the traditional bread and salt by young girls in national dress. Bulgarian and Romanian folk dances were also performed.

"The working talk between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu have started," Antonov concludes.

List of Talks Participants

AU131655 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] On 13 February talks between Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who arrived today on a friendly visit, began in Ruse.

The following persons are participating in the talks on the Bulgarian side: Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Committee on Culture; Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Niko Yahdiel, aide of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The following are taking part in the talks on the Romanian side: Elena Ceausescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council on Science and Technology; Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Stefan Birlea, director of the Cabinet of the RCP secretary general; and Constantin Mitea, editor in chief of SCINTEIA.

Petur Danailov and Petre Duminica, the two countries' ambassadors, are also participating in the talks.

More on Talks

AU132055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Excerpt] During the talks, Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov informed each other about the course of socialist construction in Romania and Bulgaria, about the preoccupations of the two countries and parties in implementing the resolutions of the Twelfth RCP Congress and of the Eleventh BCP Congress, respectively.

Likewise, examined were the development stage of the Romanian-Bulgarian relations and the way in which the agreements covenanted during the Voden and Sinaia meetings last year were being carried into effect.

The two party and state leaders noted with satisfaction that the Romanian-Bulgarian relations have witnessed an upward course, that the relations of friendship and good neighborliness, of collaboration and solidarity between Romania and Bulgaria, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party had steadily consolidated, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism, progress and peace in the world.

Determination was expressed by both sides to act for amplifying and enriching those relations, for intensifying and deepening the Romanian-Bulgarian collaboration and cooperation, by more intensely capitalizing the possibilities provided by the steadily developing economies of the two countries.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship and comradely understanding.

Continued Exchanges

AU132100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Ruse, AGERPRES, 13/2/1980--On February 13 in the afternoon, after the talks in plenum, Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov continued their exchange of opinions at the Riga complex, the residence reserved in Ruse for the Romanian guests. On the occasion, the two party and state leaders approached a series of issues of the international political life.

The talks passed in the same warm, comradely atmosphere of reciprocal esteem and understanding characteristic of the Romanian-Bulgarian summit meetings, of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, parties and peoples.

Official Dinner

AU132111 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1948 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Ruse, AGERPRES, 13/2/1980--On Wednesday evening, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu participated in an official dinner given by Todor Zhivkov in their honour.

Trip to Razgrad Okrug

AU140948 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0830 GMT 14 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with those accompanying him, departed this morning from Ruse for the Voden residence in Razgrad Okrug. The two party and state leaders were cordially seen off by Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Ruse Okrug Party Committee, by Kiril Dochev, chairman of the Ruse Okrug People's Council, and by other Ruse Okrug officials.

JOINT AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH ROMANIA OUTLINED

AU131018 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)--Three new documents for the further expansion of cooperation in agriculture and the food industry were signed between Bulgaria and Romania last night.

"A very important step in the strengthening of mutual contacts, a marked contribution to the agricultural development of the two countries and a basis for the further promotion of friendship between the two peoples" was the way in which the leaders of the two delegations--Mr Vasil Tsanov, chairman of the Central Council of the national agro-industrial union, and Mr Angelo Miculescu, deputy first minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and minister of agriculture and the food industry--evaluated these documents.

The first of the documents is a protocol for scientific, technological and economic cooperation in agriculture and the food industry between Bulgaria and Romania this year. It is pointed out in it that research on ten themes in the breeding of hybrid strains of tomatoes,peppers, cucumbers and other vegetables, and on the mechanisation of the operations in market gardening will continue. Joint studies will be carried out on soil ec[illegible]y, the intensive fattening of lambs and other problems of mutual interest. New el[illegible]nts are the joint work on the development of new breeding methods and technologies of growing maize, soya, beans, sunflower, the breeding of medicinal herbs and aromatic plants, the production of vine stock, etc. The exchange of specialists, information, seeds and planting stock is also envisaged. The two sides will cooperate also in the field of engineering.

The leaders of the two delegations also signed a protocol on the results of the talks held. The main directions for expanding cooperation and joint ventures in the sphere of agriculture and the food industry for the 1981-1985 period are outlined in it: Mutual utilization of modern technologies for the production and exchange of seeds and planting stock, improving breeds in livestock husbandry and cooperation in constructing projects in third countries.

Bulgarian and Romanian specialists will cooperate in land improvement as well. An agreement was signed on joint research and development work on the programming of the yields of the principal agricultural crops.

VISITING BRITISH OFFICIAL REVIEWS TRADE, ECONOMIC TIES

AU131024 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

["Bulgaro-British Economic Contacts"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Feb 13 (BTA)--Lord Patrick Edmund Limerick, president of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, paid a two-day visit to Bulgaria.

The guest was interested to see the achievements of the Bulgarian chemical industry and mechanical engineering. He had talks with Mr Khristo Khristov, the Bulgarian minister of foreign trade; with Mr Georgi Pankov, minister of the chemical industry; with Mr Penko Penkov, president of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and with other commerce officials. Bilateral trade and economic ties and the possibilities for making them brisker were on the agenda of the talks.

It was not until 1955 that Bulgaro-British trade started rising from the insignificant level it had before. The trade agreement and the finance agreement signed in 1955 laid a favourable foundation for the rapid development of economic relations up to the year 1970, when a long-term agreement was signed. Under this latter agreement Bulgaria and Great Britain signed annual protocols up to the year 1975.

In 1975 the two countries signed a long-term economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation programme.

Bulgaria is exporting to Britain mainly metals, chemicals, machinery, farm products and products of the light industry and is importing machines and equipment, raw materials, metals and chemicals. In 1978 bilateral trade reached almost 70 million leva in foreign exchange.

Many Bulgarian enterprises have established contacts and conduct negotiations with British companies.

CARTER DECISION TO SEND MARINES TO PERSIAN GULF REPORTED

AU131224 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] U.S. President Jimmy Carter has ordered 1,800 U.S. Marines to be sent to the Arabian Sea in four U.S. military ships. They will join the U.S. naval unit located near Iran's territorial waters. A move is thus being made in the practical implementation of the "Carter doctrine," which envisages an intensification of the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf area, under the false claim of defending Washington's interests against a nonexistent Soviet threat.

We can also interpret the decision to make use of the military bases in Oman, Kenya and Somalia in the event of a crisis situation in this context.

ZHIVKOV GREETS BANI-SADR ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

AU131313 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Feb 80 p 1 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a greetings telegram to Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the occasion of the first anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution. The telegram expresses wishes for the progress and prosperity of the friendly Iranian people. It also expresses confidence that relations between our country and the Islamic Republic of Iran will develop and be intensified to both peoples' benefit, as well as in the interest of strengthening peace and security throughout the world.

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS SCIENTIFIC UNIONS MEETING 12 FEBRUARY

AU121700 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 80 AU

[Text] On 12 February at Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall, the national meeting of the Bulgarian Scientific-Technical Unions' aktiv ended. The participants greeted Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, with exceptional cordiality.

Prof Ivan Popov, chairman of the Central Council of the Scientific-Technical Unions, informed the participants about the unions' scientific activity since the sixth unions' congress and the implementation of the tasks set by the BCP Central Committee Politburo decision of 8 March 1977.

The meeting was also attended by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member; Nacho Papazov, BCP Central Committee Secretariat member and chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technological Progress; honorary members of the scientific-technical unions; and scientists and noted innovators.

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS SOFIA CITY COUNCIL SESSION

AU081559 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 8 Feb 80 AU

[Text] A session of the Sofia Municipal Council has begun at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia. An accountability report on the council's 1979 activity and (?report on the 1980 social tasks) are included in the agenda. Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman; Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Chudomir Aleksandrov, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, are attending the session.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL WITH NICARAGUA--Managua, January 29 (BTA special correspondent)--A protocol on the talks held between a Bulgarian delegation and representatives of the economic ministries of the Republic of Nicaragua was signed here today. Two agreements were initialled, a trade one and another for economic, scientific and technological cooperation. After the signing of the documents, Mr Henry Ruiz, member of national leadership of the Sandino National Liberation Front and minister of planning [name and title as received], told the BTA special correspondent in Managua that the documents correspond to the spirit of the Nicaraguan revolution and are the expression of a deep understanding by the Bulgarian side of the needs of new, free Nicaragua. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 29 Jan 80 AU]

HUSAK GREETS KHOMEYNI, BANI-SADR ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

ID120052 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 11 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Prague--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak sent a telegram of congratulations to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni and Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr on the first anniversary of the Islamic revolution.

COMMENT ON VIEWS OF TUDEH PARTY, BANI-SADR ON ISSUES

AU131431 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 80 p 7 AU

[Julius P. Loerincz article: "One Year After the Revolutionary Coup in Iran; Struggle for Today and Tomorrow"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] In Iran, two dominant political currents have formed; although they are not monolithic, it is not difficult to detect their internal differences. THE ONE IS THE LINE OF THOSE WHO ARE SATISFIED WITH THE OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY BUT ARE NOT INTERESTED (THE FORMER PREMIER BAZARGAN) IN A MORE MARKED REORIENTATION OF IRAN; THE OTHER, WHICH DETERMINES TODAY'S AFFAIRS--ONE CAN SAY KHOMEYNI'S LINE--STRIVES FOR THE CONSEQUENT ELIMINATION OF IMPERIALIST INFLUENCE AND FOR ESTABLISHING A SOCIETY--FROM THE FOUNDATIONS ALL THE WAY TO THE SUPERSTRUCTURE--IN THE INTEREST OF THE MASSES. This line is also supported by the communists, associated in the Party of the Masses (Tudeh). They, however, conduct discussions about and polemicize against some of the concepts of those who identify themselves with the Khomeyni line. Thus, for example, they support the plans of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, the first president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, aimed--in the first place--at stabilizing the national economy (for example, at present only 60 percent of its industrial capacity is being utilized) as the foundation for consolidating political and social security, but they do not like the fact that the president has thus far been talking about giving agriculture priority over industry. They, however, appreciate his efforts to completely cleanse the state apparatus and the army of counterrevolutionary forces. In contrast to Ayatollah Khomeyni and Bani-Sadr--who, thus far, have not grasped that in neighboring Afghanistan the new Babrak Karmal government is the one that respects the country's Muslim traditions and, thanks to the Soviet aid, has been creating prerequisites for putting an end to imperialist interference and for establishing stability--the Party of the Masses underscores this aspect of events in Afghanistan.

The official Iranian position has inspired the new maneuvers of the imperialist circles, which-especially in the United States, after a period of dirty pressure coupled with threats of military intervention in Iran and suggestions of attempts to literally "starve" the Iranian people through economic blockade--are again pulling out new cards in their hypocritical game. All of a sudden it is as if they were soliciting Iranian favor; they even pose as "protectors" of the Iranian people. James Carter, who at the beginning of 1978 still praised the shah to high heaven, and then in the fall--together with his adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski--urged the monarchist regime to take a brutal course vis-a-vis people's revolutionary movement, all of a sudden shamelessly claims this January: "We were not angry at the Iranian people but at the Iranian revolution. They are not threatened by American policy but by the deeds of the Russians in this region...." It did not, however, sound convincing to Iran, because in the same speech in Congress on the State of the Union Carter, in the same breath, also declared the U.S. intention to take military action in the Persian Gulf should it at any time feel that its positions as a power in the region were "threatened."

In an interview with the American ABC television company, Bani-Sadr clearly replied to these "prospects," including Washington's latest "magnanimous" gesture: the decision to postpone the planned economic sanctions against Iran. To the provocative question as to whether the Soviet Union constitutes a greater danger than the United States for Iran, he replied: I WAS ASKED THE SAME QUESTION BEFORE, WHEN INTERROGATED IN JAIL BY A SAVAK [illegible]ER. THE UNITED STATES RULED AND PLUNDERED IRAN FOR DECADES. IRAN WISHES FOR INDEPEN[illegible]NCE AND DOES NOT WANT TO BE INFLUENCED BY ANY POWER.

Thus Iran knows very well that this kowtowing and the attempts by the United States to shift the blame for the misery and suffering of the Iranian people onto the Soviet Union is only a new variant in the imperialist approach to Iran, which the London TIMES so aptly expressed in one of its editorials: "The West Needs Iran." NEITHER FORMERLY NOR NOW HAVE THE LEADING MONOPOLIST AND POLITICAL CIRCLES IN THE WEST REALIZED THAT IT IS, ABOVE ALL, THE IRANIANS WHO NEED IRAN, AND THAT THEY HAVE THE EXLUSIVE RIGHT TO IT. Our most sincere wish now--at the time of the Iranian revolution's first anniversary--is to wish full success to the Iranian people in their present and future struggle to consolidate that right.

DOCUMENTS SIGNED WITH VIETNAM AS TALKS CONCLUDE

LD141206 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 14 Feb 80 LD

[Text] The official talks between the Czechoslovak party and state delegation and the party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were concluded in Hanoi this morning. The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; the Vietnamese delegation was led by Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party (VCP).

After the talks, a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was signed. The doucument was signed for Czechoslovakia by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier; and on the Vietnamese side by Le Duan, general secretary of the VCP Central Committee, and Pham Van Dong, member of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The treaty is the most important document yet concluded between the two countries and sets the main directions of the future cooperation between them. It is the expression of ever closer relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and creates conditions for their further, dynamic, development.

Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and deputy federal premier, and Le Thanh Nghi, member of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and vice premier of the Vietnamese Government, afterwards signed an agreement on the main directions of long-term economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam after 1980, which sets the principal aims of cooperation in industry and agriculture.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, and Nguyen Co Thach, member of the VCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs [title as heard], signed a consular convention between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam.

WESTERN OPINION DIVIDED OVER ANTI-SOVIET MEASURES

DW132152 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1427 GMT 13 Feb 80 DW

[Gerd Kurze commentary]

[Text] After the antidetente euphoria that prevailed in North America and Western Europe during the past few weeks and months, there are increasing symptoms of the hangover mood which was bound to follow. Voices are growing that oppose the course embarked upon by Washington's ruling quarters and they warn of the consequences. Listen to a commentary in the afternoon magazine program by Gerd Kurze:

Many a West European politician has recently been concerned over the state of mind of the Western world power: Washington and the White House were oversensitive and needed manifestations of solidarity similar to a lover's oaths. If this was true the day before yesterday then those governing in the U.S. capital must be on the point of collapse today, for with their decision in favor of holding the 22nd summer games in Moscow, the members of the IOC last night smashed the anti-Soviet attack on the world sports movement. It is against the background of events around Carter's boycott demand that the lines of current world politics stand out. In Lake Placid the Olympians have decided against Carter and it can be said--without seeking to fathom any deeper into the IOC members' psychology or motivations--that their decision works in favor of detente.

What was at stake for Washington regarding its boycott measures against the USSR, among which the call to postpone, transfer or cancel the Moscow Olympic games surely was not the most unimportant tune? What mattered quite obviously was the quick polarization of forces, the setting up of fronts in the world between which tensions were to rapidly increase. The boycott edicts of the White House were not a matter of relations between the United States and the USSR alone, but the United States also wooed--to put it in friendly terms--with all means for solidarity. It was not the North Americans alone who were to stop deliveries, relations and developments, thereby breaking agreements and treaties, but also the West Europeans and the Japanese were to freeze what they had agreed on during the last few years with the Soviet partner; this was also what Carter demanded from the IOC.

The fact that such a thing was tried and the way in which it was done does not speak favorably for clear-cut analysis or realpolitik thinking in the White House, as was shown in the case of the threat with the Olympic boycott and by the unprecedented affront, constituted by the speech of the U.S. secretary of state before the IOC's opening session in Lake Placid, according to the unanimous view of the Olympians. Let us recall the threatening gesture of Carter's security adviser Brzezinski a few days ago at the Pakistan-Afghan border when the responsible U.S. politician deemed it worthwhile to walk through the world mass media armed with a machine gun.

In the face of such actions thoughtful voices are increasing in political circles, particularly in Western Europe, in opposition to the current U.S. course. Granted, there are still bold statements of solidarity with Washington, and the indescribable anti-Soviet campaign, which is distorting facts and connections regarding the USSR's aid to Afghanistan, is being continued. At the same time, however, politicians are increasingly rising to speak--and more and more room is granted to them in the Western mass media--on the various aspects of the current international situation, especially on the East-West relations. They apparently proceed from the question as to where all this is to lead to.

Among those who ought to be mentioned--and this is only a selection of the past few days--are U.S. presidential candidate Edward Kennedy, French Adm Antoine Sanguinetti, former Portuguese President Costa Gomez, the chairman of the FRG enterprise Krupp's supervisory board, ICC member Berthold Beitz, the SPD's federal manager Egon Bahr, the well-known American political scientist George F. Kennan and many others.

It is not only by coincidence that press statements now recall the fateful disadvantages for Western Europe of NATO's Brussels' missile decision. The West German magazine, DER SPIEGEL, says that the stationing of nuclear missiles will enable Washington to free itself from having to guarantee the defense of Western Europe and to prevent its own territory from facing the risk in case of war. Besides, analyses are being published which indicate that opponents of detente in the United States and in NATO had systematically worked for a long time for a deterioration of the international climate. This is what the Danish paper INFORMATION says in an article by the former CIA European expert and U.S. Government adviser (Arthur Mazie Cox).

Apparently something has started moving in the Western camp. There are many people--not only the members of the ICC--who do not want the world to move nearer toward the line beyond which any control of events, with all the ensuing consequences, may be lost once and for all.

WESTERN PROTECTIONISM, STANDARDS HURT EXPORT TRADE

LD131430 Hamburg DPA in German 0858 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Berlin--The GDR fears growing difficulties in the years ahead in exporting to Western industrial countries. DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, the semiofficial East Berlin journal, expects a "keenly competitive and complicated situation in selling to these markets." Western governments, while greatly interested in stepping up exports to the socialist countries, are making no effort to import more from them. An increase in protectionist measures has been observed since 1977. Western countries are making it even harder to strike a balance between exports and imports. That was why the GDR trade pattern with Western countries has not matched the state of economic development and the potential of both sides.

As quoted by Information Bureau West today, the paper conceded that GDR exports in many cases do not meet Western demand. It is therefore paramount to offer the saleable goods required and sell them with maximum efficiency by improved marketing. It is necessary, however, to "pillory" the increasing protectionism of Western countries and "to insist on changes."

TANJUG REPORTS ON PROGRESS OF DJURANOVIC-STOPH TALKS

LD132210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Berlin--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and his host, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, began their first official political talks this afternoon. It is expected that the two premiers and their associates will exchange opinions on bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and the GDR, which is developing successfully, and also on the most topical international events.

Taking part in the talks on the Yugoslav side are Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, member of the FEC and chairman of the Yugoslav side of the mixed committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation; Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs; Nikola Cicanovic, adviser to the FEC president on foreign policy; Ronald Strelec, section head in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and Djuro Jovic, SFRY ambassador to Berlin.

Taking part in the talks on the German side are Manfred Flegl, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the German side of the mixed committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation; Dr Herbert Krolikowski, first deputy minister of foreign trade; Horst Tschanter, leader of the working group in the SED Central Committee; Dr Karl Gurenheid, state secretary in the Planning Commission; and Dr Gerhard Hahn, GDR ambassador to Belgrade.

It was satisfactorily assessed that relations and cooperation are developing successfully and are constantly on an upward trend. Emphasis was laid here on the major contribution made to this development by the meetings between Tito and Honecker in 1974 and 1977.

Premier Stoph stressed that everyone in the GDR is following with great attention the progress of President Tito's condition and through the FRG president convey to him most cordial wishes for the most rapid and complete recovery possible.

It was emphasized that since the meeting between the two presidents, a series of contacts has been realized between state bodies, representatives of the parties, parliaments, business and sociopolitical organizations, which has all led to even greater understanding and cooperation on the basis of the well-known principles of mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs and respect for variation in the paths of development and on certain international issues.

It was assessed that these differences should not constitute a hindrance to further development and promotion of relations. In addition to political cooperation, economic cooperation is developing successfully and represents the most developed aspect of relations between the two countries and an important factor of stabilization.

This cooperation is characterized by a dynamic development of commodity exchange through long-term arrangements and equilibrium, although it was stated that there is still room for agreements to be reached on long-term production cooperation and on cooperation in third markets. Conditions exist in particular for the further development of industrial cooperation in machine construction, the chemical and other light industries, electronics and other spheres.

It was pointed out with satisfaction that the intergovernmental committee for economic and scientific cooperation makes a constructive contribution to overall relations, which is also helped by cooperation between planning organs. It was emphasized that in the future, too, attention must be paid to the development of scientific-technical cooperation which gives good results.

[East Berlin ADN in German at 1850 GMT on 13 February in a similar report adds the following: "Willi Stoph and Veselin Djeranovic reported on the implementation of and further tasks in carrying out the decisions of the 9th SED Congress and the 11th LCY Congress. At the same time, they praised the successes brought about in socialist development as a result of the outstanding labor achievements by the working class and all workers in the two countries."]

With regard to international issues, it was concluded that the situation has gravely deteriorated, which gives rise to anxiety and to the need for efforts to be undertaken to halt the present unfavorable development of the situation in the world and to revivify the process of relaxation of tension.

The REC president placed particular emphasis on the fact that the existing critical flashpoints continue to remain while at the same time new ones are developing and that the phenomena of the use of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries are becoming increasingly frequent, presenting a very serious threat to peace and security in the world. Yugoslavia, as a nonalined country, has pointed out that the process of detente can be placed upon a permanent and stable basis only insofar as it encompasses all regions of the world and the most important international problems in the resolution of which all countries will take part.

This confirms the rectitude of the positions of the nonalined regarding the untenability of the division of the world into blocks and spheres of influence and the need for detente to become universal. It was stressed in this connection that Yugoslavia, together with the other nonalined and neutral countries of Europe, will strive to make its contribution to breathing life into the process of detente in Europe, stressing the linkage between detente and the situation in the Mediterranean and throughout the world.

The importance was stressed, in this connection, of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to which end adequate preparations must be fulfilled in order to make the meeting successful.

Opinions were also exchanged on the issue of halting the arms race and on disarmament, on relations between the two countries as well as neighboring and other countries and on the international economic situation, which is also giving rise to anxiety.
The talks will continue tomorrow.

[East Berlin ADN in German at 1850 GMT on 13 February in a similar report adds the following:

["Willi Stoph stressed that socialism's peace initiatives, particularly the constructive Soviet program for peace and security announced by L.I. Brezhnev in Berlin, were in the interest of all mankind. With its fateful decision at the Brussels Council meeting, NATO had introduced a new round in the arms race. In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with the nonalined states and peace forces throughout the world, the GDR would do what was necessary to further promote the process of detente and to thwart imperialism's aggressive plans.

["The GDR and the SFRY, it was stated during the talks, advocate a comprehensive implementation of the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act. From this point of view, the preparation and convening of the Madrid meeting was of great importance.

["The two sides expressed the solidarity of their countries with the forces of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement, and with all peoples struggling for national independence and social progress. The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere."]

HONECKER GREETS KHOMEYNI, BANI-SADR ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

AU131252 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 80 p 1 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker has sent a congratulatory cable to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni on the occasion of the first anniversary of the victory of the Iranian people's revolution. On the same occasion he also conveyed congratulations to Dr Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The cable to Ayatollah Khomeyni reads as follows:

I take the first anniversary of the victory of the Iranian people's revolution as an occasion to convey to you, your holiness, cordial congratulations in the name of the State Council and the people of the GDR.

I link with this the certainty that the relations between our states and peoples will develop and deepen.

Allow me to express my sincere wishes for health and personal well-being.

Please accept the expression of my high regard.

The cable to President Dr Bani-Sadr reads as follows:

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the victory of the Iranian people's revolution I convey to you, your excellency, cordial congratulations in the name of the State Council and the people of the GDR.

I link with this the certinty that the relations between our states and people will develop and deepen.

Allow me to express my high regards.

AXEN MEETS WITH FINNISH TRADE UNION LEADER IN HELSINKI

LD131454 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Helsinki (ADN correspondent)--The SED Central Committee delegation led by Herman Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, which is in Finland at the invitation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party [SSDP], met today with Pekka Oivio, chairman of the Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK), and other trade union leaders at the federation's headquarters. They discussed problems of the labor movements in the GDR and Finland in solving social and socioeconomic questions.

The two sides described the safeguarding of peace and the struggle against attempts to aggravate the international climate and against the arms race as the most important task of the international labor movement. They both agreed that the trade unions bore great responsibility for this task.

The official talks between the SED and SSDP delegations will begin this afternoon.

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH EGYPT

AU131256 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 80 p 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--In connection with the negotiations on the conclusion of a new long-term trade agreement between the GDR and the Arab Republic of Egypt, Dr Gerhard Beil, Council of Ministers member and state secretary in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade, received Nihad Saiy ad-Din, head of a delegation of the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, on Monday [11 February] for a talk.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the new basic agreement would have a favorable effect on the development of the goods exchange between the two countries.

The talk was also attended by Salah ad-Din Abu Jabal, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the GDR.

The long-term trade agreement for the period up to 1985 and other agreements between the government delegations of the GDR and the Arab Republic of Egypt were concluded on Monday. These agreements provide for the further development of the goods exchange in continuation of the traditional trade relations between the two countries.

The GDR will deliver mainly mechanical engineering products, chemical products and consumer goods, and will import from the Arab Republic of Egypt mainly cotton, cotton yarns and fabric, rice and other agricultural products as well as semifinished and finished products.

The documents were signed by Leonhard Orschel, director-general in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade, and by Nihad Saiyad-Din, director-general in the Egyptian Ministry of the Economy, Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation.

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER DESCRIBES SOLDIERS' DUTIES IN 1980'S

AU131550 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Feb 80 p 13 AU

[Article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Land Forces: "People Determine the Fighting Strength of the Army: About the Demands on the Soldiers of the National Peoples Army (NPA) in the Eighties"]

[Text] Our NPA is a combat-strong, socialist coalition army. Thanks to the constant solicitude of the party-state leadership, its politically aware, well-trained soldiers possess effective weapon systems and technical equipment enabling them, side by side with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact, to safeguard the military protection of socialism and to defend peace against any enemy.

In view of the aggravation of the international situation by imperialism, of the arms race fanned by it and of the increasing preparations for war on the part of NATO--which include the envisaged deployment of almost 600 U.S. nuclear medium-range missile weapons on the territory of the West European allies--the demands leveled against the fighting strength and combat-readiness of the NPA are to grow in the eighties. Greater efforts to make socialism secure are necessary in national defense.

To Protect the People's Peaceful Work

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, at the 11th Central Committee session, referred to the "determination, together with the other states of the Warsaw Pact, to do everything necessary for safeguarding the security of the socialist countries. Even today one may proceed from the premise", he stated, 'that NATO will not succeed in achieving the superiority over the Warsaw Pact to which it aspires." Within the framework of the socialist defense coalitions the NPA soldiers also want to make an important contribution to the strengthening of the position of socialism by doing all they can to reliably secure the peaceful work of our people.

The clearcut political-ideological attitude of each army member constitutes a basic prerequisite to enable him to discharge his soldier's duty at all times and to understand the tasks and demands resulting from this duty. This is why we regard it as our obligation to create soldiers' personalities that are loyally dedicated to the workers class and to its party and maintain an imperturbable proletarian class position. They must be politically, morally, psychologically and physically prepared for modern combat, must under all conditions act resolutely, steadfastly and be sure of victory, must master to perfection the military trade and the weapons and technical equipment entrusted to them--briefly: They must guarantee that an imperialist aggressor never will have a chance.

To be able to fulfill our class assignment for the protection of socialism and the securing of peace we must take into consideration the worldwide dynamic development of military affairs. The modernization process initiated in the mid-fifties also has affected the NPA. [paragraph continues]

This process has brought about in the land forces the fact that the field artillery, which had been the main force of firepower in World War II and which had achieved a considerable further development of its own, is being surpassed many times over by tactical and operational-tactical missiles in terms of range and striking power. Missiles also have joined the antiaircraft gun as a main means of combat. The antitank missile has been added to the conventional antitank artillery.

The stormy development of military technology in two decades has transformed the rifle-armed infantryman into a motorized rifleman possessing, with his armored personnel carriers, highly mobile, armored combat vehicles and weapons ranging from submachine guns to cannons and missiles.

All these technical transformations, however, have not reduced the role of man in the army but rather have enhanced it. As previously, man is the decisive force because the technical equipment that he has created becomes of use only through his efforts: He must know exactly how to handle it, how to maintain it with expert knowledge and how to employ it wisely.

The commander of the BMP armored personnel carrier, for example, is required to possess thorough, specialized knowledge concerning the mastery of the technical devices and assemblies of his combat vehicle. The young noncommissioned officer must direct the BMP with tactical skill even under the most difficult conditions of the situation, terrain and weather, must ensure the first gunner with a favorable firing position and must direct the fire and actions of the motorized rifleman. This levels great demands on his technical and military knowledge and skill which can only be obtained through systematic training and hard study.

The development of science and technology is advancing further. Automation and electronics also are entering the military sphere at a fast pace and are being used in general in modern weapons, control and reconnaissance systems. The more modern the combat technical equipment is and the more complicated and effective the weapons systems are, the greater also are the demands made on those operating them and the more demanding are the roles and responsibilities of these people.

This is why in the future a high standard of political awareness, and of theoretical knowledge, quick reaction and action within a matter of seconds, precise exercises and meticulous cooperation among all the persons involved will be required.

The Soldiers' Collectives Are Consolidated

Another characteristic of modern military technical equipment is that the fighting strength and combat readiness of an army are being decisively determined by the men. The modern weapons as well as those of the future represent weapon systems which require the smooth interaction of many soldiers. The role of the individual in the collective is increasing and each individual soldier's work is decisive to the success of an action.

This is why we are devoting particular attention to the consolidation of combat collectives molded by socialist relations and comradeship among soldiers. Like elsewhere in our society's life, the passing on of best experiences, the transfer of knowledge and findings to lesser experienced people also play a great role in the army.

In addition to the perfect mastery of the individuals' functions, military science imperatively requires groups, crews and teams to learn and be proficient in performing each other's roles. The use of modern technical and other equipment also attaches particular significance to discipline--the mother of victory. [paragraph continues]

The increasing mutual interdependence in each collective requires the combining of high military mastery with iron military discipline. Awareness of responsibility, dependability, punctuality, and exactingness are indispensable requirements for success.

Improved performance capacities of military-technical equipment in the eighties also will require higher intellectual and physical capability on the part of the soldier. The increasing possibilities of conducting prolonged, intensive and dynamic combat activities entail for him an uninterrupted high degree of psychic and physcial tension in combat. There should be no relaxation of combat-readiness even at night, because of the use of infrared and laser equipment and other technical means.

When considering the fact that in reloading their vehicle with ammunition a tank crew must in a few minutes move shells having an overall weight of some 1,720 kilograms and the gunner-loaders of a 122-millimeter howitzer must move some 1.5 tons of ammunition in a 20-minute artillery preparation, it can easily be seen that the soldier must also display speed and physical strength.

The time factor has acquired a decisive significance in modern military affairs. More than 150 years ago the Russian military leader Suvorov pointed out that 1 minute could decide the outcome of a skirmish, 1 hour the success of a battle and 1 day the fate of a war. Today minutes and seconds, and not days or hours, are decisive for victory or defeat.

Thorough Knowledge Is Necessary

A modern combat aircraft can move some 1,000 meters in 1 second. The Pershing II missiles, whose deployment in Western Europe is being envisaged under the Brussels' NATO decisions, are to reach their targets in the socialist states in 4 to 5 minutes. These examples illustrate the responsibility that the crews of the defense systems bear.

The demands outlined in this article which objectively result from the development of military affairs will be met by soldiers only through diligent study and intensive training in an intensive training process. The more thorough their school-acquired knowledge in both social and natural sciences and the premilitary training received in the society for sports and technology are, the better they will discharge their duties as defenders of the r fatherland.

HOFFMANN THANKS CIVIL DEFENSE UNITS

AU121336 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 80 p 1 AU

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The GDR's Civil Defense System celebrates its 22d anniversary on 11 February. In an order of the day, General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense and SED Central Committee Politburo member, paid tribute to the efforts of the working people for the economic strengthening of the republic and the military protection of socialism.

General of the Army Hoffmann emphasized that the role of the Civil Defense in socialist national defense is growing. It is necessary, he said, to secure an even higher level of protection for the people and the national economy, both for avoiding a catastrophe and as regards the conditions of national defense. The minister thanked all Civil Defense members and staffers for their sacrificial work in the service of the socialist fatherland.

PARTY CONGRESS RESUMES WORK IN 'PROBLEM COMMITTEES'

LD140029 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb PAP--Today, on the third day of the 8th Polish United Workers' Party Congress, 18 specialized problem committees held discussion on key ideological, political, social and economic issues viewed in the light of prospects for this country's development by 1985 which were presented by PUWP First Secretary Edward Gierek. This form of debate made it possible for several hundred delegates to speak their mind and submit their proposals. The debate within committees was attended by guest experts and scientists.

The biggest number of participants was recorded within the committee which considered the tasks facing the party and state with respect to international politics and consolidating peace, security and detente in Europe and worldwide. The vital importance of the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to this country was emphasized.

The matters of disarmament and putting an end to the arms race are one of the most important and urgent tasks facing humanity nowaday, it was stressed. In this context, the significance was highlighted of the proposal Edward Gierek made in the PUWP congress forum concerning convocation in Warsaw of an all-European conference on military detente. Poland and the other socialist countries are going to strengthen their defence force with an eye to vital interests of their nations so as to secure their societies a peaceful present and future and consolidate peace.

In the course of the debate, the committee discussed the problem of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany viewed in the light of the treaty both sides signed in December 1970. While speaking of Poland's relations with the West, participants in the discussion pointed to this country's multi-lateral contacts with France as an example of how Poland implements the principle of peaceful coexistence with states which have different sociopolitical systems. The Polish-French dialogue paved the way for detente in Europe, they said.

Participants in the debate voiced their approval for moves aimed to enhance the role of the relations with the developing countries in the foreign policy of the Polish party and state. Certain problems were also discussed relating to the activities of the international communist and working class movement and of the forces of progress and democracy as Poland's natural ally in her struggle for peace and detente.

The key tasks of Poland's economy in the forthcoming quinquennium, namely expansion of transport and power industry and development of housing construction and the country's own raw materials base, were considered in close link with the problem of deepening socialist integration in economy and expansion of export production, foreign trade, and maritime economy.

The goals being mapped out at the 8th party congress will require significant progress in the expansion of economic, trading, scientific and technological cooperation with foreign countries, with special emphasis on further expanding Poland's share in the international division of labour. Of fundamental importance here is intensive development of export production destined for both old and new foreign markets. Poland's economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and trade with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries secure Poland stable and favourable external conditions for further development and for reaching social goals.

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON NATION'S FOREIGN, ECONOMIC POLICIES

DW111225 Bonn DIE WELT in German 9/10 Feb 80 pp 1-7 DW

[Warsaw correspondent Elisabeth Ruge interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chief editor of the political weekly POLITYKA and member of the PZPR Central Committee--date not given]

[Text] The 8th party congress will begin in Warsaw on Monday. The state leadership and the party feel the unrest of the populace. General discontent is growing. The chief editor of the weekly POLITYKA, Central Committee member Mieczyslaw Rakowski, answered questions from DIE WELT.

WELT: How great actually is the foreign political leeway of Poland? Will the sudden deterioration of the East-West climate after Afghanistan have repercussions with regard to German-Polish economic relations? The Federal Republic is the greatest Western trade partner of Poland.

Rakowski: This leeway is absolutely sufficient for implementing the policy of detente. We want to stick to that policy. It was too advantageous for Europe as well as for us to be discarded. Certainly, the international situation does not make one particularly optimistic--but one must not take it too dramatically, either. It is by far not the first world crisis after World War II.

Our economic relations are based on mutual advantage and one can be certain that we on our part will not terminate the treaties. We consider economic relations with the Federal Republic as useful and important for our economy as before. We believe that nothing of what has been achieved must be destroyed. That pertains to all fields of German-Polish relations.

WELT: And yet many cancellations and terminations come from the East bloc presently. Must not there be more rapprochement particularly in times of crises?

Rakowski: Well, much could be said about that issue. Did we terminate Minister Lambsdorff's visit to Poland? I fear that a mechanism is involved here that is hard to keep under control--one cancellation causes the next. A way out of that situation?--Avoid nervous action that has not been thought through. Mutual talks must be continued. The structures permitting a dialog between the East and the West in past years must not be destroyed.

WELT: Yugoslavia threatens to become an additional element to upset the balance. What will come after Tito?

Rakowski: I beg you to excuse me, but I consider all the noise about Yugoslavia a typical product of cold war propaganda. What actually happened in or around Yugoslavia? What will come after Tito? Certainly Yugoslavia will continue to exist, and I am firmly convinced that it will be the same Yugoslavia that has been built by that great statesman and patriot.

WELT: Do you continue to believe in detente?

Rakowski: Yes, I believe in detente because the people know the advantages that have been achieved through this policy. Detente has changed the awareness of the people. Second: A return to cold war will achieve nothing and just pave the way to hot war. I am just amazed when I see the covers of German magazines--why should one terrify the people?

WELT: Party chief Gierek says that the state of the nation makes him sleepless. How does Poland want to master the supply crisis?

Rakowski: I do not think there exists a radical means to improve the situation on the food market. Higher agricultural productivity is necessary. This in turn calls for more financial efforts. "Modernization of Polish agriculture" is the slogan for today and tomorrow. Regarding the insufficient offer of other goods, the situation is not so tragic at all. The pressure on the market takes place mainly due to the enormous volume of money in the hands of the populace. Changes of the economic structure will be unavoidable. The present system of economic planning and management must be decisively decentralized.

WELT: The party congress guidelines indicate: Fewer investments, fewer imports and minimal wage increases. The populace is expected to make new sacrifices. Is the party leadership backed by the people?

Rakowski: What does new sacrifices mean? In the past decade the Polish populace has increased its living standard considerably. One must just look around in Poland, naturally without dark glasses. It is correct that we must slow down on further wage increases now, but are we the only ones in Europe who have been forced to do that? The Poles are a very critical people. The critical approach, however, must not be considered lack of confidence. I am convinced that every plebiscite in Poland for or against Gierek's social-economic and foreign policies would produce a positive result for the party leadership.

WELT: The visit of the pope has strengthened the self-confidence of the Poles. How does the party want to form its relations with the church?

Rakowski: Relations between the state and the church always have been and will remain flexible. Naturally they are not free of certain contradictions. But I believe that the climate created in this decade improves understanding--also with regard to difficult problems. Both sides learn to have patience, mutual respect and tolerance. The dominating factor is the national interest of the Poles.

WELT: Do you foresee a Polish-German dialog with representatives of the majority of the electorate in the Federal Republic?

Rakowski: Do you have in mind CDU/CSU politicians? If the CDU/CSU is prepared to talk to us in the spirit of the treaty on the principles of normalization, we will gladly do it. One can often find that preparedness on a lower level. But as regards the top echelon, matters are different and not always so good. May I remind you that we have invited Mr Kohl several times. He did not come. Naturally we have an election campaign now; we shall see how it will develop after that.

Continuation of Detente

DW110925 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 1900 GMT 10 Feb 80 DW

[Reporter Gatter interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Polish Communist Party Central Committee and chief editor of POLITYKA, in Warsaw--recorded, date and place not given]

[Text] [Rakowski] I do not believe there will be an armed conflict, so sooner or later there will be talks again between the Soviet Union and America. And therefore it seems to me that we must preserve what we have developed here in Europe. That is my first remark.

The second thing is that I believe that not just the governments here in Europe but also the nations have examined how useful detente policy is for Europe. Great social forces are somehow engaged in this process. This is not a game just for politicians. And therefore it seems to me, despite the tensions we observe between Moscow and Washington, that we still have quite some leeway, "we" meaning the small and medium-sized European states.

[Question] Is the Federal Republic, as before, one of Poland's most important contacts in the West?

[Answer] Yes, naturally, that is correct.

RAKOWSKI WRITES ON IMPORTANCE OF DETENTE

LD131125 Paris LE FIGARO in French 11 Feb 80 pp 1,5 LD

[Article by Warsaw POLITYKA editor Mieczyslaw Rakowski: "Poland's Development Is Linked With Detente"--first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] At a time when the eighth congress of the (Communist) Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is beginning we publish below an article by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chief editor of the weekly periodical POLITYKA, Central Committee party member and a well-known personality both in Poland and abroad, devoted to Poland's domestic situation and Poland's commitment to the policy of detente.

The main thing is to preserve a proper perspective. The future of detente is now undoubtedly the main topic of conversation. The Polish people follow very closely the development of the international situation and feel concerned by any event likely to aggravate it. There is no atmosphere of panic in Poland, but any feeling of anxiety is a political fact that counts. The reason for this anxiety can be detected not only in the Polish people's profound commitment to peace, which is understandable, but also in the full realization of the great advantages which the detente policy has hitherto bestowed on Poland.

It is impossible to consider Poland's dynamic economic and social development in the seventies without seeing a connection between it and this policy. It is as a result of this that conditions have been created for a considerable development of trade, economic, cultural and political relations between Poland and its territorial partners in the Western world. There can be no doubt that our country's political and economic leaders have taken maximum advantage of these conditions. Franco-Polish relations are not the sole example of this.

National Personality

If you consider Poland's history and its present position in Europe in the long-term perspective, undistorted by day-to-day difficulties and troubles, you will reach the obvious conclusion: The policy of detente has created an extremely favorable, quite unique, situation for our country. Very good relations, devoid of any conflict, with the Soviet Union, on the one hand and much good will and an inclination to develop cooperation with Poland among our Western partners, on the other.

It is, therefore, understandable that Poland is in the front rank of countries which defend the policy of detente. We will continue to defend it in the future, relying on the fact that most of our Western partners realize that the abandonment of this policy will benefit neither Europe nor the world in any way.

The Polish leaders closely watch Western Europe and welcome statements made by all politicians who have not succumbed to the edginess prevailing on the other side of the Atlantic.

The fact that great interest is shown in the development of the international situation does not mean that domestic problems are treated lightly. This applies to both economic and social problems. They are talked and written about in the Polish press at great length. Edward Gierek, whose name is connected with Poland's dynamic development in the seventies and with the maximum utilization of the opportunities offered us by the policy of detente, often mentions these problems. Polish affairs are also very often referred to in the columns of the West European press, including those of LE FIGARO thanks to the activities of its Warsaw correspondent Bernard Margueritte. What is written about Poland is as varied as our reality which is both varied and diversified.

I believe that it would be pointless either to recall the economic difficulties with which Poland has been confronted or to discuss the role of the Catholic Church, opposition groups and so forth. It is more than certain that my Western colleagues will continue to bring up these subjects. They have been doing this day after day and I have no intention of competing with them. However, I would like to present to the French readers a certain picture of Poland which, I believe, is not seen through rose-colored glasses.

In fact, despite all the great difficulties with which we had to contend in the past, at the beginning of the eighties Poland holds some trumps which exert an extremely positive influence on the strengthening of its national personality and of its position in the world and will continue to do so. The economic and social policy pursued in the past decade has led to a considerable development of Poland's industrial potential, to a modernization of many important sectors of the national economy and to a general improvement in the people's standard of living (lines of people in front of stores should not obscure this fact).

Price To Pay

The Polish people have become more open to the world and the feeling of individual, material and political security has intensified. We have become more modern. This is no mean success for people who have suffered from an underdevelopment complex for decades. It is true that we are able to realize and adequately appreciate this only when we rise above day-to-day difficulties which are certainly very great in the case of many Polish people. However, a nation's history and destiny cannot be considered in terms of only 5 or 10 years.

The problem of our future has been mentioned in many articles about Poland published in the Western press--the question of whether we will be able to successfully deal with the present unfavorable economic situation and with the various social and political problems which have emerged as a result of the country's development. Such questions are justified.

My answer to them is positive: The Polish people, who hold the aforementioned trumps, will undoubtedly be able to find ways and means which will enable them to fully utilize the existing means of production. The main task of the communist party and its political allies remains to do everything in their power to insure that the price to pay for successfully dealing with the present difficulties is as low as possible.

MINISTER ASSESSES CHANCES OF PRESERVATION OF DETENTE

DW140815 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German to East and West Germany 0516 GMT 13 Feb 80 DW

[Correspondent Fink interview with Marian Dobrosielski, Polish deputy foreign minister--place not given, recorded in German]

[Text] [Question] Will the European states be facing a special responsibility now?

[Answer] I believe that all states, all peoples, have their own responsibility for the preservation of peace, for the preservation of detente. It is a foregone conclusion that the respective roles are different, as is the influence. I might say that in keeping with the specific characteristics of our policies, we have always advocated and will always be an advocate of detente, though we believe that this is not a specifically Polish role. We are very happy to see that forces and people in many European countries affiliated with the two alliances and in the neutral and nonalined states do not want to waste the fruit of detente. We hope that sooner or later all of us will find our way back to detente.

[Question] Some contacts have been postponed particularly in the relations between the Federal Republic and various countries of Eastern Europe. Are these not initial indications of a return to cold war between East and West and thus, simultaneously, of an intensifying polarization in Europe? What is your opinion?

[Answer] No, I do not think so. I believe that it is the stance of all socialist states, of all Warsaw Pact states, to do everything in their power to maintain detente. But is is clear indeed that we are now in a difficult situation, though one which we have not created. We must keep all this in mind and react accordingly. What matters is when and how the meetings at higher levels can bear better fruit.

[Question] Considering the NATO decision of late last year, do you see a chance for negotiations on the medium-range missiles?

[Answer] Yes, this has been underscored by the Soviet Union as well as on our part. If the implementation of the NATO decision is discontinued, then I believe the road will be clear. It seems to me--and the socialist countries have warned of this decision--that such a decision will destroy the basis formed by the proposals of General Secretary Brezhnev in Berlin. Regrettably the West did not take this into account, seeming to be surprised now. There is nothing to prevent this decision from being reconsidered. And I believe that a new basis can be set up.

[Question] What is it that matters in this respect, the revision of the Brussels decision or the implementation of that decision?

[Answer] Well, the decision in itself is a dangerous decision. And all of us feel threatened by the implementation of this decision. This is my private opinion since I am neither instructed nor authorized to negotiate on these issues here: It would seem to me that, should the West clearly state that the implementation of the decision, meaning the production and introduction of the Pershing II, and the cruise missiles, would be halted, the road toward negotiations would be clear.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION ENDS SESSION IN ISLAMABAD

AU122050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 12 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Islamabad AGERPRES 12/2/1980--The sixth session of the Romanian-Pakistani joint governmental commission of economic, scientific and technical cooperation concluded in Islamabad. New measures were established during the session for expanding and diversifying industrial cooperation as well as economic and commercial exchanges between Romania and Pakistan. The delegations were appreciative of the positive activity carried on in the bilateral technical-scientific cooperation. The results of the proceedings were written down in the protocol signed at the end of the session by Mihail Florescu, minister of chemical industry, and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistani minister of finance, the chairmen for the two countries of the commission.

ROMANIAN-BUILT REFINERY HANDED OVER IN KARACHI

AU132106 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] The ceremony of handing over the final acquisition certificate of a local refinery built by Romania took place in Karachi. In the speeches made on this occasion, the representatives of the Pakistan side highly valued this concrete result of Romanian-Pakistani cooperation. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistani minister of finance, stressed that the proper functioning of the refinery is proof of Romania's design capacity and technical and technological competence. The refinery, he said, is a real example of cooperation between our countries and of results that can be attained in a spirit of cooperation and of common trust and joint decision. We are confident in the future and highly value the cooperation in other industrial spheres with Romania, the Pakistani finance minister said.

In his turn, (Muhammad Salam), chairman of the state corporation for oil refining and petrochemistry said: I am fully convinced that the successful conclusion of work at the Karachi national refinery and its successful functioning since its commissioning in January 1978 is a concrete and solid example of relations of cooperation and friendship in the economic and technical fields between our countries. He also emphasized that this project has made an important contribution to his country's economic development and he expressed satisfaction at the technological competence of Romanian workers and experts and the desire to continue to develop good Romanian-Pakistani relations of cooperation.

HUMAN RIGHTS ROUNDTABLE WITH U.S. MEETS IN BUCHAREST

AU132159 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 13 Feb 80 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 13/2/1980--A Romanian-American round table on human rights was arranged in Bucharest over February 11-13. Questions were discussed regarding the provision of dignified living and working conditions for each and every citizen; the guarantee of fully equal rights to all citizens with no distinction as to nationality, sex, religion, etc.; the rights and duties of man as active member of the national and state community he belongs to and his participation in the public life, in governing society, the provision of the framework for the plenary manifestation of the human personality in the sphere of material and spiritual production; international (?cooperation) and observance of human rights. The round table proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and regard, occasioning a sincere exchange of opinions. The Romanian delegation, led by Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, included men of science, jurists and executives of various institutes. The American delegation, led by Stephan Palmer, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights, included representatives of the U.S. Congress, of the State Department, private persons.

TITO'S CONDITION 'DETERIORATED'; INTENSIVE MEASURES BEING TAKEN

LD131828 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Ljubljana--During the day today the general state of health of President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito has deteriorated. A further weakening of the functions of the kidneys and the heart has taken place. Intensive treatment measures are being taken.

[Signed] The Doctors' Council.

State of Health 'Critical'

AU141204 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 14 Feb 80 AU

[Announcement on the State of Health of President Tito]

[Text] During the past night the state of health of President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito was critical. Following the intensive treatment measures undertaken, a certain improvement has taken place but the condition is still very difficult. The appropriate medical measures continue.

[Signed] The Doctors' Council

AFP on Leaders' Movements

NC141220 Paris AFP in English 1214 GMT 14 Feb 80 NC

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 14 (AFP)--Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec abruptly cancelled his scheduled departure for India today amid reports that President Josip Tito passed a calm but "critical" night, it was learned here.

A medical bulletin said that the 87-year-old president's condition improved somewhat this morning. Doctors yesterday reported that his condition had worsened, nearly four weeks after his gangrenous left leg was amputated.

Latest reports indicated that Veselin Djuranovic, the president of the Yugoslav Executive Council, was however continuing his planned official visit to East Germany despite the president's weak condition. Meanwhile, rumors spread that hearing problems had been added to the leader's digestive, heart and kidney problems.

DJILAS SEES CHANGE BUT NOT 'COLLAPSE' AFTER TITO

LD141245 [Editorial Report LD] Brussels LE SOIR in French on 12 February publishes on page five a 1,400-word interview by its "special correspondent" Pol Mathil with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas, whom Mathil visited at his Belgrade home on an unspecified date. Djilas comments on political prospects:

"[Djilas] I have not changed my opinion of the Tito regime nor of my country's difficult future in a tense and dangerous world. Yugoslavia is not easy to understand. The Tito cult is more comparable to that of Mao rather than Stalin, Lenin or any other, but Tito is incomparably more intelligent than all the others. So his disappearance will cause a considerable vacuum. As for our institutions...I would not like to talk about them publicly now. The president is sick, the people are concerned, this is no time to begin criticizing....

"[Mathil] Is the cautious man also sentimental?

"[Djilas] No, this is perhaps a kind of sense of decency.

"[Mathil] Briefly, though...

"[Djilas] Right. Briefly, those who believe that Yugoslavia after Tito is going to collapse will be disappointed just like those who believe that there will be no change at all here. There are always changes after a new group comes to power and Yugoslavia will be no exception. Changes are inevitable. Our economy is in crisis, the world too.... In particular, we must abandon the illusion of security which stems from belonging to the nonalined movement and which has isolated us from Europe, our logical, vital, historic and cultural environment. In other words, we must reexamine the diplomacy which has turned Yugoslavia into an object of obsessive desire to the USSR.

"[Mathil] This is nothing new. Moscow never accepted the split of which you were an ideologist. Who is taking care of ideology now?

"[Djilas] In principle, the League of Communists. It is certainly motivated by patriotic feelings but it has removed all those who think differently. It is puffed up and bureaucratized and one cannot be certain whether it is in a position to lead the nation. The only solution is a democratization at home and an opening up abroad."

PRESIDENCY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE MEETS 13 FEBRUARY

LD131608 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--A session of the SFRY Presidency Council for National Defense was held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Lazar Kolisevski, vice president of the SFRY Presidency. A review was made at the session of questions relating to the realization of the program of development and training of the armed forces, and also of other topical questions concerning the country's defense preparations.

The council adopted the assessments and conclusions on the questions reviewed and noted the high degree of moral, political and general combat readiness of the armed forces, and of the state of defense readiness of all parts of our society and of all structures of all-people's defense and social self-protection. The council pointed out, at the same time, the need for further efforts in realizing the tasks of development of the armed forces and of the country's defense preparations in accordance with the established plans.

OFFICIAL FEARS POSSIBLE ADVERSE IMPACT OF AFGHAN CRISIS ON CSCE

LD131211 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 10 Feb 80 p 2 LD

[Francisco Basterra interview in Belgrade with Yugoslav Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milos Melovski: "It Cannot and Must Not Be Stopped"--date not specified]

[Text] The CSCE conference scheduled to be held in Madrid this fall "cannot and must not be stopped, Yugoslavia's Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milos Melovski told EL PAIS in Belgrade. "On the contrary," the diplomat added, "the preparations must be stepped up in order to give an answer to the contentious issues of the curent international situation. Under these circumstances, the Madrid conference assumes even greater importance." Yugoslavia--one of the obvious leaders of the nonalined countries movement, together with Cuba--has a special interest in the holding of this conference and its diplomacy is playing a "militant" role in preparing for and promoting it.

The defense of nonalined orthodoxy, called into question by the invasions of Kampuchea and Afghanistan--remains a fundamental principle of the Yugoslav regime, despite the domestic anxieties which the succession to Marshal Tito may provoke.

"The conditions for holding it," Milos Melovski stated, "are more difficult now and a bad atmosphere has been created. Judging by our consultations, there are hopes and wishes that it be held and that there be real results for political and military detente in Europe in the fields of economic and cultural cooperation and in other fields." Yugoslavia's initial optimism is qualified in the sense that "the possibility should not be ruled out that, if the gravest international problems are not resolved, their adverse consequences could affect the conference."

"We will do our utmost," continued Yugoslavia's assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, "to insure that the Madrid conference proceeds well. It is not merely a matter for NATO and the Warsaw Pact; it is a matter which concerns all European countries, including the neutral countries such ar Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Finland. For this reason it is very necessary."

There is considerable agreement between Yugoslavia and Spain--it is asserted at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade--in their hopes and wishes with respect to the conference.

UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DEBATES ON AFGHANISTAN

LD131226 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 13 Feb 80 LD

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, February 13 (TANJUG)--The United Nations Human Rights Commission continued work here today with a debate on the right of nations to self-determination. As part of the debate, a discussion has opened on the Soviet military engagement in Afghanistan.

Yugoslav delegation head Ivan Tosevski recalled the United Nations Charter principles and decisions on the problem of foreign intervention adopted by heads of non-aligned countries at the last year's summit in Havana. "Old and new forms of imperialism, colonialism and other forms of foreign domination and hegemony persistently strive to perpetuate themselves," Tosevski stressed. "Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned country, is particularly concerned over pressures on and threats to the independence of non-aligned countries in various regions of the world. The policy and practice of pressure and threats is in violation with the United Nations Charter and the universally (?adopted) international law norms," Tosevski noted.

Somalian representative, Ambassador M. Osman, pointed that in Afghanistan's case a military engagement against a non-aligned country is involved. Osman added that both superpowers use the same pretexts for launching military actions. Other delegations also noted that the Soviet military action in Afghanistan is no isolated episode but, instead, just another in a series of bi_-power actions. The situation in Kampuchea and other countries, were also cited as examples of the negation of the right of nations to self-determination. The Nigerian representative noted that the practice has particularly frequently been applied in Africa.

After disputing the commission's right to consider the Afghanistan problem, Soviet delegation head Valeriyan Zorin went on to justify "the Soviet military assistance to Afghanistan" by saying that it followed on the invitation of Afghan representatives for the prevention of a U.S. military action.

In addition to other well-known Soviet stands Zorin said that Soviet Union's security would have been in danger had it not been for the action in Afghanistan.

OFFICIAL PROTEST OVER ATTACK ON AMBASSADOR TO VENEZUELA LODGED

LD122042 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 12 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Caracas, February 12 (TANJUG)--The charge d'affaires of the Yugoslav Embassy in Caracas has filed a sharp protest to the Government of Venezuela on account of an attack on the Yugoslav ambassador to Venezuela. Ambassador Marko Sunjic was attacked by two armed persons in his residence yesterday. Threatening him with arms, the assailants demanded money and valuables. One of the assailants shot Ambassador Sunjic in the leg.

The protest to the Venezuelan Government demands that the Yugoslav diplomatic mission be enabled to work undisturbed. At the same time a demand is made for an intensive investigation against the perpetrators of the attack. The Yugoslav charge d'affaires also expressed the conviction that the Venezuelan Government will take the necessary measures in accordance with traditionally friendly relations now existing between the two countries.

The wounded Yugoslav ambassador has been operated on and is recovering successfully. Ambassador Sunjic has been visited at the clinic by the Venezuelan acting minister of the interior and the military representative of the Venezuelan presidency. They expressed the deep regret of President Campins and the Venezuelan Government at the serious incident.

DORONJSKI ASSESSES PARTY ROLE AT BLED CONFERENCE ON LCY

AU131650 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 80 p 3 AU

[Unattributed report on introductory speech by Stevan Doronjski, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the BLED Scientific Conference "LCY and Socialist Revolution" on 7 February]

[Text] The scientific conference that we are holding is of particular importance for LCY theory and practice. First of all it is devoted to the 60th anniversary of the revolutionary activity of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY. We can say with a complete sense for the historical truth that our party has a very rich experience and has achieved important results in the struggle for a new society. The basic tasks of this conference is to review and define this experience and these results in light of the present and future needs of the revolutionary struggle of the LCY and of the development of socialism in the contemporary world. Of course, this is a permanent task, Stevan Doronjski said at the beginning of his introductory speech at the conference "LCY and Socialist Revolution."

The theoretical and practical importance of the problem of the role of the party of the workers' class is increasing more and more within a worldwide framework. Many questions on the struggle for socialism and social progress are directly connected with the role of the party, its character and its ability to be the vanguard of the workers' class and of all revolutionary forces.

The importance of the role of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY, as the party of the workers' class and of the largest popular masses, has become evident in our revolution and is evident today. The Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY have been an irreplaceable factor of revolutionary trends at all stages of our social development.

There is an objective social and scientific need to critically examine the historical experiences of the revolutionary activity of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the LCY, to perceive what represents a continuity of the revolutionary process and what are the elements of discontinuity, stagnation and deviations and where are the causes of these elements, what is their character and what are their consequences. [paragraph continues]

Every true revolution needs to continue to return to its origins and its experiences, Tito says. However, this returning is essentially different for a revolution, that is continuing, such as ours. It is always a challenge to seek new and better solutions for contemporary problems. Both the nihilistic attitude toward the revolutionary historical experiences and achievements as well as the canonization and dogmatization of the results achieved are equally inapplicable to our theory and revolution. The question of a dialectically conceived continuity of the revolution is a question of preserving its achievements and of constantly developing its substance, that is, the class and national liberation and the liberation of people in general. This is true because the achievements of the revolution can be preserved only through its constant development. In this context the League of Communists, acting as a party "in the great historical sense," is both the guardian of the achievements of the revolution and the factor of continuous revolutionary changes. In any event the problem of continuity of the revolution is of extraordinary importance not only for politics but rather also for theory and science.

On this occasion, too, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of Tito's concept of the party. Without entering into any detailed elaboration of the entire wealth of this concept, it must be pointed out that from as long ago as the prewar period Tito continued to emphasize the need for the party to preserve its class character, to proceed in the determination of its political line from the real social-historical conditions and, at the same time, to be rooted in the progressive aspirations of the broadest masses of the people, to struggle for the assertion of its own ideology and, at the same time, against every form of dogmatism and sectarianism and to represent an expression of the unity of the class and the national emancipation.

As a Marxist, Tito has always proceeded from the fact that the working people are the creators of history, but to be able to direct its course, they need a party that thoroughly understands the social-historical conditions and defines the ways and methods of changing them. On the basis of this platform Tito has constantly struggled for the unity of the party and for its ideological and political firmness and cohesion. He has continued to see in this unity one of the basic conditions and factors of unity of our entire society. To Tito the party has been always the revolutionary vanguard, and the struggle for the interests of the workers class and all our peoples and nationalities and for an increasingly freer life of man--the reason for its existence. Tito has been and continues to be the strategist of our revolution because of his ability to rise to the level of key problems of every stage of our revolutionary development, to sense the true problems of the society and the direction of the historical trend and to point out the main directions to be followed in overcoming the periodic crises that have occurred in this development. In this connection it must be especially pointed out that during the past 40 years and more Tito's historical initiatives have decisively determined our revolutionary development and essentially marked the history of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. We have only just recently had an opportunity to be witnesses of the extent of importance of Tito's personality not only in our society but rather also on a worldwide scale. This enormous reputation of his is based on his revolutionary work and his persistent and unswerving struggle for peace and for the liberation of all exploited and rightless peoples. For this reason Tito is both a revolutionary and a figure of worldwide historical importance.

The question alone of how the social transformations of epochal significance have been possible in a small and backward country with rather unfavorable historical conditions is sufficiently challenging to theoretical and scientific thinking. If practice is sufficiently challenging for theory, there is no reason why theory, too, could not be sufficiently challenging and stimulative for practice.

It is also necessary to emphasize on this occasion the need for a theoretical examination of the very meaning of the existence and activity of the League of Communists at the present stage of development of the socialist self-management. [paragraph continues]

The League of Communists does not aspire to the power of the party nor does it have any separate interests of its own and for this reason it also has no need for any theory of party that would be separate from the entire idea of revolution. It needs theory as a critical idea of revolution which perceives the contemporary situation in all of its aspects and points the way to the future, to the possibility for the further revolutionary process and its deepening.

The reports and contributions submitted for this conference center on the problems of the vanguard role of the League of Communists under contemporary conditions, that is, conditions of the development of the socialist self-management. It is of primary importance to critically perceive the current practice of the League of Communists and to define the problems and the most significant aspects of its activity from the viewpoint of the struggle for the realization of integral self-management, that is, of an entire self-managing organization of the society the foundation of which lies in the basic organizations of associated labor and other forms of direct self-managing democracy. Both the achievements and the problems which we face require this in the final stage of social development that we are entering. In this respect it is possible to say that the problem of the struggle for the implementation of Marx's concept of society as an association of direct and free producers, that is, of the realization of social self-management as the historically necessary process within which this concept is implemented on a long-term basis even in contradictions, has remained the central problem of theoretical thinking on the League of Communists and its activity.

Having spoken on the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, which mark a new stage in the development of self-management, on the created material and other foundations for the progress of our society and on the experience gained in the development of self-management, Doronjski further said: The extent to which the realistically existing possibilities for this development will be realized essentially depends on the activity of the organized subjective forces and especially on the ability of the League of Communists to be an expression of these existing revolutionary potentials and forces. Revolution is never the product of an automatic social development but rather always the result of a conscious organized struggle for a new society.

The basic historical purpose of the role of the LCY is to change what exists in a revolutionary way and to uncover, define and encourage the revolutionary trends and forces; it is in this way that communism, as the historical goal, at the same time becomes the process of its gradual realization. The entire political and ideological activity of the League of Communists as well as its internal organization and its relations with the workers class and the working people as a whole must originate in this essential historical function of the LCY. It is only as a revolutionary organization and only by constantly refusing in a revolutionary manner to be satisfied with what has already been achieved that the League of Communists continues to confirm itself as the leading part of the workers' class and of all working people. The concrete programs of activity of the LCY are a part of a more fundamental program and historical task, that is, the liberation of labor. For this reason the practical role of the LCY must be constantly related to realizing the liberation of labor and the practical role of the LCY must be critically perceived on the basis of the results of this process. This requires a more organized theoretical work of communists that is oriented toward the social practice, processes, problems and contradictions through which the historical process of liberation of labor is developing.

The integrative and cohesive role of the League of Communists is very important under the conditions of numerous contradictions of social development and necessary pluralism of interests, Doronjski continued. The struggle for its own unity on the basis of firm ties with the workers class and all working people and on the basis of democratic centralism, revolutionary class awareness and the struggle for the realization of the unity of the immediate and the historical interests of the workers class and for the harmonization of separate, common and general social interests against all forms of autarchy, particularism and bureaucratic domination are an essential element of its activity as a contemporary revolutionary vanguard.

It can be said that the attitude of the League of Communists toward the various and divergent interests existing in our contemporary society is one of the key problems of the theoretical study and definition of its role and its practical activity.

We must struggle with our entire practical political and theoretical force to overcome the origins of those very strong tendencies that are oriented toward favoring narrow and partial interests and toward closed ecoomic-political operations. Of course, for this purpose it is necessary to make essential changes in the sphere of labor, in the production relations, along the line that represents the framework of the Constitution, the line according to which the associated producers really control the conditions and the results of their work. Our science faces the great task of approaching critically, in a scientific way and by scientific methods, the complex of these problems and of incorporating its knowledge into the struggle for the realization of this strategic goal of our social development. Many questions, especially those concerning the prerequisites and factors of a real coordination of diverse and often conflicting interests within the workers class and within a broader social framework from the position of the interests of this class as a whole and of the historical interests of the entire society, continue to remain theoretically unsolved.

The League of Communists essentially has a twofold task as regards its attitude toward the existing interests in the society.

On the one hand, its role is needed in the coordination of those interests that are of such a nature that their realization contributes to the development of socialist self-management. It is only the interests of this kind that can really be coordinated. On the other hand, within the very process of self-management the League of Communists, through a democratic dialog with the working people and proceeding from the necessary existence of different and even opposing interests within the workers class and within the wider framework of the society, must identify those interests that objectively oppose socialist self-management and must struggle to eliminate their social, economic and other origins.

The League of Communists continues to be the vanguard as long as it continues to perceive existing interests from the viewpoint of the entire revolutionary trend. The general interest which the League of Communists must advocate at all levels is in fact created in the process of self-management itself. The strengthening of this process at all levels of the society leads to a multiplication of diverse interests as well as to a rapprochement among these interests and to their coordination and unity. However, this substance of common interests is not automatically produced by the process of self-management. The theoretical leadership of the League of Communists, its perceptive function as the essential element of development of the revolutionary class awareness and its ability to assume the positions of the interests of the workers class as a whole and to practically struggle for these interests continue to be the essential prerequisite for uncovering, determining and validating the common interests.

A constant strengthening and widening of the material basis of associated labor is the key condition and prerequisite for the development of self-managing processes of agreement and accord. However, it is a fact that today the producers still do not have complete control over the conditions and results of their work, over the income and over the resources for expanded reproduction. It is only on this basis, that is, by strengthening the material basis and the role and the influence of associated labor, that it is possible to objectively determine the conditions for quicker agreements on the joint questions of development and current work. It is under these conditions that we must reach self-managing agreements and social accords between the republics and provinces on the essential basic questions of joint development.

These questions are of vital theoretical and practical political importance for our society. A slow progress in their solution can lead to a stagnation and even a crisis in the development of self-management and in the socioeconomic development. It is here that the LCY performs its very important integrative and cohesive function. The role of science in explaining these questions and its contribution toward solving them are very important.

It is a matter of important principle for the League of Communists to lead the struggle for a quicker development of the material production forces and for the real control of producers over the conditions and results of their work. The serious difficulties in the realization of the system of associated labor, unfavorable economic trends and slow progress in the strengthening of the material position of basic organizations of associated labor call attention to the fact that the struggle for new relations within the system of expanded reproduction and the successful material transformation of our society represent a strategic and class question in the entire LCY activity. In this respect the realization of a more stable economic development is essentially linked to the struggle for essential changes in relations concerning the use of surplus labor. The current practice of taking an excessively large part of accumulation funds from producers and transforming it into state capital, bank capital or some other capital represents an essential obstacle to the development of self-management and of the entire society.

It is only when relations in the use of surplus labor essentially change to the advantage of the associated producers that the necessary social conditions will be created for a greater increase of labor productivity, greater stability of economic trends and a better material position of a majority of producers. On the other hand our society does not need just any kind of a stability of economic development but rather only the stability that is essentially linked with the control of producers over the conditions and results of their work, that is, a stability that strengthens the self-managing socialist production relations. In this context, too, it is apparent that the League of Communists can fulfill its vanguard role and act as a factor of stability of economic and general social development only as long as it is a party of revolutionary trends and of deepening and strengthening of the revolutionary process.

The League of Communists cannot alone fulfill its historical role but rather always only in unity with all organized socialist forces of the society. The self-managing socialist democracy can advance only if all these forces continue to develop it. For this reason the activity of the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance, the Confederation of Trade Unions and all other sociopolitical and social organizations is very important. The need for this activity and a creative role of all these organizations is even more pronounced under the conditions of the struggle for integral self-management.

A very important and constantly open task faced by the LCY is its struggle for the development of democracy within its own organization. The implementation of Comrade Tito's idea on collective work and responsibility at all levels of political organization is particularly important in this connection. The essence of this idea is the further strengthening of democratic relations in the LCY and of self-managing socialist democracy within the widest social framework as well as the strengthening of collective and individual responsibility of all holders of social and self-managing functions.

Also today the principle and practice of democratic centralism continue to be an irreplaceable basis of internal relations within the LCY and in this connection it is vitally important to insure that, under the conditions of development of socialist self-management, the elements of internal democracy and centralism (conceived as the realization of the unity of revolutionary action) will be linked in a real dialectical unity. It is from this viewpoint that the current practice in the LCY must be continuously examined and appraised.

The tendency of concentrating the dominant political influence within the framework of the LCY leaderships and the tendency of some of these leaderships to act as commanding organs and as the authority both in relation to the wider ranks of "ordinary" party members and in relation to the members of other sociopolitical organizations are being overcome slowly and with difficulty. There can be no highly developed internal party democracy without a strong and sound ideological-political struggle and the corresponding contents and forms of ideological-political work and internal transformations of the LCY that are aimed at overcoming these tendencies.

The appropriate ideological activity of the LCY is possible and must be conducted on the basis of the struggle for an increasingly richer internal party democracy. The essense of this activity is in the struggle for a new substance of the socialist self-managing democracy and for an increasingly higher degree of the freedom of self-managers. It is necessary to overcome those contents of the ideological work that reduce this work to a propagandist or predominantly defensive function. The LCY revolutionary humanistic ideology requires the practical ideological work to be primarily offensive and to be oriented toward the struggle for what is new in all of its aspects.

The present process of ideological work and especially Marxist education in the LCY is very widely spread. Its results are visible. However, they have not as yet become a sufficiently powerful factor of the wider activity of the League of Communists and primarily of its struggle for advancing the self-managing practice and overcoming the numerous problems and difficulties confronting self-management today. Ideological work and its results continue to be rather closed within the framework of its own sectors. It is vitally important to insure that the increased ideological awareness of LCY members and the increased knowledge acquired by them in the process of Marxist education will become a material force of the struggle for the development of self-management and for practically changing the conditions of life and social position of the workers' class and all working people.

The LCY has nearly 1.8 million members and possesses a great cadre, political and ideological potential. However, this potential still has not found its full social and creative expression. The scientific thinking and especially the empiric research work must orient themselves toward examining the reasons for this state of affairs and direct political work must be aimed at activating this potential as quickly as possible. It is in this light that it is necessary to also perceive the following question: How should an increasingly richer ideological-political life and creativity of the basic LCY organizations be developed?

Despite the fact that these organizations have now become considerably more intensively engaged than in the immediate past and that the ideological-political work within them is now more substantive and more highly developed (particularly significant results have been achieved in Marxist education), we still cannot say--as regards a certain number of them--that they have become a real subjective factor of the policy of the League of Communists. It is along this line that it is necessary to approach the problem of relations and the need for a comprehensive democratic communication between the LCY leaderships and LCY members.

Many questions of an effective organization of the League of Communists have been raised both in the practical political and the theoretical sense at the individual stages of development. "The organizational question" is certainly influenced by those factors that influence the entire practice of the League of Communists and by its role. But the concrete organizational solutions also have their own relative autonomy and are not only marginally important for the realization of the entire role of the League of Communists. There is still a certain variance between the widespread nature of the self-managing system and the organized character of the activity of the League of Communists. [paragraph continues]

It is necessary to perceive the forms of organization of the League of Communists and of its activity in such a widespread self-managing structure of the society and, under these conditions, the concrete historical forms of realization of the principle of democratic centralism, by proceeding from the needs and aims of the development of the process of self-management itself as well as the purpose of the LCY's historical role.

The intensification of the efforts in this direction is based on the present world historical circumstances in which our society and the LCY find themselves. The awareness of the nature, essential substance and values of our revolution and an organized struggle to strengthen this awareness represent one of the prerequisites for preserving and constantly developing the authenticity of our revolution. The idea and practice of self-management have never had only a "local" and exclusively Yugoslav character. They are assuming in various forms an increasingly more universal and epochal character. This idea and practice are a part of the very foundation and strategy of the Yugoslav socialist society. But we have never imposed our experiences and solutions in the struggle for socialism upon others. On the contrary, we have always firmly held and continue to hold the view that any such imposition would be contrary to the very purpose of this struggle. We believe that every experience must be critically examined in a real democratic dialog based on equality and full respect for the concrete historical conditions in which every individual party finds itself. It is in this sense, too, that we understand the task of presenting the results of our revolutionary development to the contemporary world.

BRIEFS

WORLD BANK LOAN--The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has approved a loan of $125 million for the construction of a superhighway through Yugoslavia. The Belgrade Bank announces that additional loans amounting to $105 million will be obtained for the purpose from foreign banks. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 80 p 7 AU]

LOAN TO MONTENEGRO--The International Financial Corporation Board of Executive Directors in Washington has approved a loan of $21 million for the Investment Bank of Titograd for the reconstruction of hotels and other tourism buildings damaged in the earthquake last year. Montenegro will spend $84 million for the reconstruction of 32 such buildings. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 80 p 6 AU]

IMF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR--Branislav Ikonic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, received Dr Herman Ono Ruding, IMF executive director, in Belgrade yesterday. They discussed topical questions of mutual cooperation and expressed satisfaction over its successful nature. Ikonic also informed Dr Ruding about the goals of the Yugoslav economic stabilization policy. Views on current questions of the international economic and financial situation were also exchanged. Stojan Andov, member of the Federal Executive Council, also received H.O. Ruding and discussed questions connected with the conclusion of a new agreement on economic cooperation between the SFRY and EEC and the creation of conditions to increase Yugoslav exports to the EEC market on more stable and lasting foundations. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 80 p 6 AU]